

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CU-02 OIC-02 ERDA-05 OES-06

NRC-05 /099 W

-----281732Z 090326 /44

R 281356Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9654

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 0415

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, .0*94, UR, SW

SUBJECT: VISIT TO SWEDEN OF SOVIET CSCE EXPORT

1. SUMMARY. SOVIET CSCE EXPERT MEDELEVITCH VISITED STOCKHOLM JANUARY 18-22 FOR CONSULTATION WITH GOS ON THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE. MENDELEVITCH'S PRIMARY PURPOSE WAS APPARENTLY TO ASSESS THE SWEDISH POSITION RATHER THAN TO OFFER NEW SOVIET PROPOSALS, BUT SWEDES DETECTED SEVERAL NEW ELEMENTS IN HIS APPROACH. MENDELEVITCH ALSO DISCUSSED THE NON-FIRST USE PROPOSAL, AND RECEIVED OFFICIAL SWEDISH RESPONSE. END SUMMARY.

2. MFA OFFICER FOR CSCE KERSTIN ASP BRIEFED EMBASSY

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OFFICER ON THE MENDELEVITCH VISIT, DESCRIBING THE TWO-DAY LONG DISCUSSIONS AS "RATHER GOOD" AND USEFUL. SWEDES GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT MENDELEVITCH IS NOW RESPONSIBLE FOR SOVIET PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE, THOUGH HE NEVER CAME OUT AND SAID SO. SOVIETS APPARENTLY HAVE STILL NOT TAKEN A POSITION ON MANY ASPECTS OF THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE, AND MENDELEVITCH WAS INTERESTED IN

DISCUSSING THE SWEDISH PERSPECTIVE.

3. ASP SAID SOVIETS STILL WOULD PREFER A SHORT MEETING, BUT MENDELEVITCH LEFT CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT HE RECOGNIZES REALISTICALLY THAT MEETING MAY REQUIRE SEVERAL MONTHS. THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT WANT THE CONFERENCE TO SPILL OVER TO 1978. HE ALSO INDICATED THAT SOVIETS ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT LIMITED COMMITTEES - MENDELEVITCH MENTIONED IN PASSING PERHAPS ONE FOR EACH BASKET - BUT STRESSED DESIRE TO AVOID REPETITION OF THE PROLIFERATION OF COMMITTEES AS OCCURRED AT GENEVA.

4. WHEN MFA PROVIDED SOME THOUGHTS ON THE AGENDA FOR BELGRADE, MENDELEVITCH CRITICIZED THE USE OF TERMS "NEW PROPOSALS" AND "NEGOTIATIONS," MAINTAINING THAT, ACCORDING TO THE FINAL ACT, THERE COULD ONLY BE AN "EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" AT BELGRADE. THE MOST IMPORTANT THING, HE EMPHASIZED, WAS TO CREATE A "POSITIVE CONCEPT" FOR THE CONFERENCE. THERE SHOULD BE NO NEW PROPOSALS, NOR ANY NEGOTIATION, MENDELEVITCH INSISTED, SINCE THE ACT CANNOT BE CHANGED AND THE ONLY VALID TASK FOR BELGRADE IS AN EXCHANGE OF IMPLEMENTATION. SWEDES REPLIED THAT THEY SAW THREE POSSIBLE TYPES OF PROPOSALS: ON IMPLEMENTATION PAST AND FUTURE, ON ELABORATION OF STEPS ALREADY TAKEN, AND ENTIRELY NEW PROPOSALS. WHEN MENDELEVITCH REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE THIRD TENET, SWEDES CLAIMED THAT SOVIETS HAD ALREADY INTERJECTED NEW ELEMENTS WITH CALLS FOR ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCES AND THE NON-FIRST USE PROPOSAL.

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5. WHEN MENDELEVITCH ASKED FOR SWEDISH VIEW OF SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCES AND ARGUED THAT THE WEST WAS ONLY MAKING EXCUSES FOR NOT TAKING THEM SERIOUSLY, SWEDES REPLIED THAT IF PROPOSALS WERE IN CONTEXT OF ECE, REACTION MIGHT HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT. FOR GOS PART, IT IS STILL WAITING FOR REQUEST FOR FURTHER CLARIFICATION TO BE ANSWERED. MENDELEVITCH CLAIMED THAT MOSCOW WAS PREPARING AGENDA NOW AND THAT MORE DETAIL WOULD BE PROVIDED SHORTLY. SWEDES STATED THAT IN ANY CASE THEY PREFER TO WAIT FOR ECE PLENARY REPORTS IN APRIL BEFORE TAKING A POSITION.

6. FOLLOWING SWEDISH EXPLANATION OF THOUGHTS ON CBM'S, SUCH AS IMPROVING TREATMENT OF OBSERVERS, INCLUDING TROOP MOVEMENTS, ETC., MENDELEVITCH SAID HE WOULD REPORT GOS EXPERIENCE BACK TO MOSCOW. HE ALSO ASKED WHETHER GOS IS CONSIDERING PROPOSALS TO CHANGE PARAMETERS, AND SWEDES REPLIED THAT THIS WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE POSSIBLE BECAUSE OF DIFFICULTIES WITH CHANGING THE FINAL ACT AND THUS

ESTABLISHING A PRECEDENT FOR DOING SO. HOWEVER, THEY
ADDED, RECOMMENDATIONS TO THAT EFFECT COULD BE MADE.
MENDELEVITCH STRONGLY STATED THAT THE TERMS CANNOT BE
CHANGED IN ANY WAY, AND THAT THE "ABSOLUTE MAXIMUM"
WAS NOW INCLUDED IN BASKET 8.

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7. ON FOLLOW-UP MEETING, MENDELEVITCH SAID THAT SOVIETS
AGREE TO FINAL ACT LANGUAGE, THAT THERE BE SEVERAL
MEETINGS IN THE FUTURE, UNDER TERMS WHICH REMAIN TO BE
DECIDED. ASKED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF EXPERT GROUPS,
HE SAID SOVIETS DID NOT OPPOSE IN PRINCIPLE IF ALL
INVOLVED CAN AGREE.

8. TURNING TO A DIFFERENT SUBJECT, SWEDES BROUGHT UP
THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A NON-FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS AGREEMENT IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE OFFICIAL
SWEDISH REACTION. SWEDES POINTED OUT THAT THE MOST
EFFICIENT WAY TO REDUCE RISK OF NUCLEAR WAR IS FOR
NUCLEAR POWERS TO AGREE TO DISARM; THAT IN THE MEANTIME,

GOS WOULD WELCOME POLITICAL INITIATIVES WHICH "IN A
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REALISTIC WAY" COULD REDUCE THE RISK; THAT CSCE IS
INAPPROPRIATE FORUM FOR DISCUSSION OF THIS PROPOSAL
SINCE ONLY NUCLEAR POWERS CAN PROVIDE GUARANTEES;
AND THAT SINCE NATO COUNTRIES REGARD PROPOSAL AS
ALTERING THE BALANCE OF POWER, THE PROPOSAL IS NOT
REALISTIC.

9. MENDELEVITCH RETURNED TO SUBJECT DURING COURTESY
CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER SODER, EXPRESSING HOPE THAT GOS
WOULD CONSIDER THE PROPOSAL AND COMPLAINING THAT NATO
REACTION WAS NOT SERIOUS. SODER REPLIED THAT GOS IS
ALWAYS INTERESTED IN NEW INITIATIVES. ASP NOTED THAT
SOVIETS ARE OBVIOUSLY INTERESTED IN KEEPING THE IDEA
ALIVE, AND GUESSED THAT SOVIETS MAY NOT TABLE IT BEFORE
THE BELGRADE MEETING, BUT MAY SUDDENLY PRODUCE IT AS A
COUNTER TO WESTERN PROPOSALS.

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